NATIONAL REVIEW

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July 11, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Murrow: Poet of Mankind

FINIS FARR

Why Congress Balks on Foreign Aid

THE VOTERS

Britain's Endangered Lifeline

F. A. VOIGT

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Subsidized Enemies

Conservative Senators of both Parties are studying a possible move to force a break in diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and India. Such a campaign would start with a drive (now under way) to eliminate foreign aid to these countries. Observers believe that public opinion would support both objectives but also agree that this viewpoint would have to be overwhelmingly reflected in congressional mail. As one Senator expressed it, "only the people can destroy the suicidal complacency that leads our government to subsidize our enemies."

"Nehru . . . Weasel Words"

Republican Senator Styles Bridges remarked on the floor of the Senate: "I know of no instance where Nehru has openly and sincerely taken the side of freedom . . . I know only weasel words . . . Nehru has yet to denounce slave-labor, torture, trial without jury . . . the absolute ruthless dictatorship that goes with Soviet Russia. . . . I cannot feel justified in voting large sums of foreign aid to India."

Stop Stevenson?

Harriman strategists think they can pull the rug out from under Adlai Stevenson. But Stevenson's managers are claiming more than 500 first ballot votes for their candidate (686 ½ needed for nomination) plus the assistance of a large majority of Democratic Governors and of Speaker Rayburn. A Harriman spokesman, Governor Gary of Oklahoma, declared at Atlantic City that there are "more than two Governors" favorable to Ave. Governor Gary is one, and Governor Harriman makes two. Happy Chandler of Kentucky, a favorite son and would-be "serious" candidate, could be the third governor on the Harriman totem pole.

In Georgia

One-time Governor of Georgia (by appointment) Melvin Thompson, who is challenging Herman Talmadge for the Democratic Gubernatorial nomination, says Herman is running "scared." But in previous campaigns Thompson was beaten by Talmadge and by the present Governor, Marvin Griffin. When Thompson announced his candidacy last week, Talmadge remarked, "The NAACP has a perfect right to sponsor and finance a candidate for the Senate." The NAACP refused to comment.

Nationalized Education?

Backed by Averell Harriman and G. Mennen Williams, Governors Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Orville Freeman of Minnesota beat the drums for federal aid to education at the Atlantic City Governors' Conference. The counterattack was carried by Republican Governor Stratton of Illinois and Democrats Lausche of Ohio, Shivers of Texas, Timmerman of South Carolina, and Coleman of Mississippi. They contended that federal aid would lead to federal control. Declared Governor Lausche, "with control of the purse would come control of curriculum."

The Unpredictable Lausche

Senate aspirant Frank Lausche says he does not know whether he would vote with his fellow Democrats to organize the Senate, if he defeats Republican George Bender for the Ohio seat at stake. The fifth-term Governor, who has won all his elections with substantial GOP help, might conceivably cast the decisive vote for Republican control of the Senate. Mr. Bender accuses the Governor of "playing both sides of the fence."

Drought

Like other Midwestern and Southwestern states, Kansas has been hard hit by inclement weather and drought. Political repercussions are already evident. At least one and probably two GOP congressional seats are in jeopardy, and the national ticket, even with Eisenhower running, has been weakened. The following information comes from its agents to the Kansas Livestock Association (as reported by Gene Dyer in the Topeka Journal). From an agent in Colby, Kansas: "Today I saw the first panic selling of cattle." From the Association's secretary: "Some people say that the drought (in western counties) is worse than it was in the 30s." From Osborne, Kansas: "The boys out here are really selling out. We hear of whole herds being liquidated and farmers worrying about what their few milk cows are going to eat."

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The WEEK

● Richard Wilson, of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune,* asked Governor Arthur Langlie of Washington on "Meet the Press" why he had been named keynote speaker at the Republican National Convention. "For many years," said Mr. Wilson, "it was the custom to have the temporary chairman and the keynoter the same person. In this case, however, Senator Knowland was made the temporary chairman but Senator Knowland is not going to deliver the speech which sets the tone of the Republican Party. Do you think that is because you are more liberal than he is?" It took Governor Langlie 83 words not to answer the question.

● "The birth of a boondoggle" is how Representative August Johanson of Michigan describes Section 6, a provision furtively attached to the federal Water Pollution Control Bill. The section in question provides for federal aid to local communities in the construction of—of all things—sewage disposal plants. Mr. Johanson points out that the bill establishes the precedent of federal responsibility in an entirely new field.

● State Department officials were recently electrified by a most unusual telegram from Beirut which expressed the gratitude of the Government of Lebanon for the "steady and generous interest" which the United States has maintained in the "welfare of the Lebanese people." Lebanon chose to make this statement public on the eve of the arrival in Beirut of Soviet Foreign Minister Dmitri T. Shepilov.

● The French Government, plagued by Communist-inspired mutinies among draftees destined for Algeria, has been driven to removing emergency brake cords from all railway cars which shuttle the soldiers to Mediterranean embarkation ports.

● Egypt's political theorists are pondering the dissatisfaction with the new Constitution demonstrated by the electorate. In the recent national plebiscite, Lt. Colonel Nasser, the unopposed candidate for President, was elected by 99.9 per cent of the votes cast; but the Constitution was approved by a scant 99.8 per cent.

● Senator Flanders, who has not been heard from since the McCarthy censure, re-emerges to suggest that the United States scrap the NATO concept be-

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cause it is predicated on a rearmed West Germany. The Senator told his colleagues that the U.S. should encourage West Germany to negotiate with Moscow, to achieve unification with East Germany even at the cost of disarmament and neutrality.

● Almost nostalgically, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, on receiving a citizenship award from the Albert Einstein School of Medicine, delivered a straight reign-of-terror speech. Describing his struggle against men who "view every unorthodoxy as heresy, and whose answer to heresy is repression," Senator Lehman announced that fascism had come to America but that "it was falsely called anti-Communism."

● A group of exiled Tibetans has asked Indian Premier Nehru why he did not protest the bombing of Litang, a Tibetan town in Szechwan Province. The Chinese Communists were reported to have killed four thousand inhabitants of Litang in this punitive expedition against a revolt.

● Violating the immunity of the West German Embassy in Moscow, the Soviet police arrested two men who, claiming to be Germans, had sought refuge within its premises. Although insisting that the fugitives were Soviet citizens, the police have refused to disclose their names.

● Increasing numbers of British professionals and businessmen, reports the *New York Times*' correspondent in London, are deserting the Conservative Party. Reason: their deep conviction that the Party is "pseudo-conservative," and has made no effort to rescue them from the effects of rising taxes and continued inflation.

● Since President Eisenhower succeeded President Truman at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, the voice of Margaret has been heard much less often in our land. On the other hand, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee has just announced that one of its television films will feature a new crooning team, "Ike and Mamie," warbling "God Bless America."

● Our nomination for the most fascinating paralogism of the week: the statement by Governor Averell Harriman at the Governors' Conference that "although" he had had no direct association with the ADA, it had done effective work in combating Communism.

● The British Labor Party has announced that when and if it is returned to power, it will nationalize four-fifths of rented dwellings in Great Britain because "private landlordism has failed to provide the majority of our people with houses of the standard they deserve." Leaders of the Labor Party might consider visiting the Soviet Union, where public landlordism is practiced. They would find that, as in China, the living standards are not even high enough for flies.

● In France, as in the United States, wages of certain workers are pegged to the national cost-of-living index. Last week, in the interest of reality, the French Government formally added cognac to the list of basic commodities with reference to which the index is computed.

● General Lauris Norstad, who will assume command of NATO's armies at the end of the year, has disclosed that, in 1943 and 1944, he urged his superiors to advance through the portions of Europe left undefended by Hitler's collapse and to save East Germany, Western Poland, Austria and Hungary from the Russians. But the Chiefs of Staff, in line with State Department policy, invited the Russian armies to take Berlin. "I caught hell," General Norstad recalls. "I even caught hell from the boss, Ike."

● Scheduled for publication on June 20 was volume forty of the massive Soviet encyclopedia, to have included the critical letter "S." The Kremlin has now announced that volume forty has been somewhat delayed—what with the discovery of more and more relevant data on Stalin—and that the appearance of volume forty-one will precede it.

● First Party Secretary Antonin Novotny has warned restive Czechoslovakians that they would be making a big mistake if they took the current Soviet "liberalization" campaign at face value. He told the press it must conform ("we have always denied the independence of the press from the Party"), ruled out any further "misled" student demonstrations ("in the future, university candidates will be more carefully screened") and warned writers against deviation from Party discipline ("the recent writers conference was a forum for immoral liberalism"). Interior Minister Rudolf Barak drove home the lesson with a statement that the Czech secret police would be needed for a "long time to come."

● A reader of the *New York Daily News* makes the following comment on the betrothal of Marilyn Monroe and Arthur Miller: "In Russia, pro-Americans get shot. In America, pro-Communists get Marilyn Monroe. [signed] Disgusted."

● The following item recently appeared in the "Situations Wanted" column of the *Washington Evening Star*: "Girl, colored, wants day work in Gentile family." The NAACP and the Anti-Defamation League are fighting for jurisdiction.

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A Dream

We have been told unambiguously by our military leaders that the loss of our air base in Iceland would seriously jeopardize the defenses of America, let alone those of Western Europe.

The 160,000 citizens of Iceland have just completed a neutralistic election spree, under the baton of demagogues, rogues and Communists, as the result of which the United States may be asked to vacate Iceland. Can it be that not a single influential American politician will recommend that, should the day come, we address Iceland as follows?—

"To protect ourselves, the nations of Western Europe, and you—whose rhetoric would not hold back the Communists a single hour—*American forces will remain in Keflavik.*"

Such a response, we estimate, would do more to offset anti-American neutralism than, say, one trillion dollars of foreign aid. Such a statement would have the further benefit of scaring to death about three quarters of our ruling elite.

Equal and Coordinate

The Air Force is to have about a billion dollars more than the Administration requested for it, but it remains uncertain whether the Administration will respect the Senate's clear intent. What *is* certain is that Congress is making its own decision on a major issue of military policy—as, a few weeks ago, the House made its own decision on the foreign aid program.

We are witnessing a congressional revolt, unprecedented in recent decades, against Executive arrogance and Executive claims to omniscience. The year 1956 may be remembered—with the Senate's invitation to Secretary Wilson to mind his manners as its typical symbol—not as the year when every last American citizen became knowledgeable about the surgical scars on the President's abdomen, but as the year when the American people tacitly re-enacted their Constitution.

That Constitution calls in the first place for three branches of government which, *in the short term*, are coordinate and equal—and, therefore, for a Congress which, unlike most we have seen of late, is made up of men who think of themselves as moral and intellectual peers of the Executive Branch.

It calls, *in the long term*, for a Congress that thinks of itself as that one of the three branches that is closest to the American people—thus willing to use the ultimate weapons at its disposal to keep national policy in line with the basic beliefs, judgments and preferences of the people. And the nation, at this moment, is fortunate in having a Congress that meets both specifications.

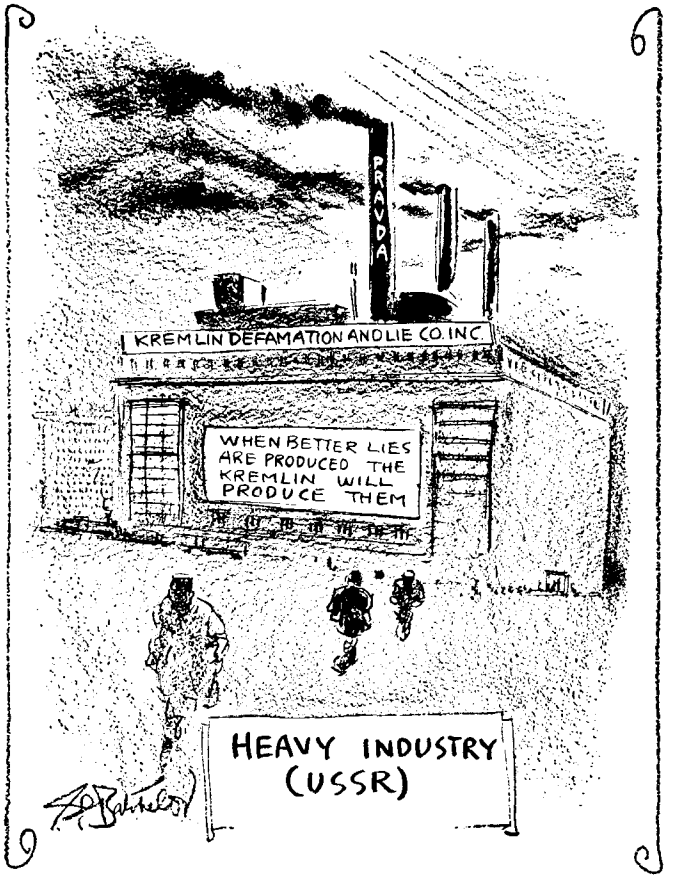
The central fact of our recent constitutional history (and the central reason for our constitutional disequilibrium in recent decades) has been the capture of the White House by the nation's permanent civil servants—and the average legislator's feelings of inferiority in the presence of "professional expertise." The current congressional revolt, in short, is not an attack on the office of President but a summons to the President to free himself from tutelage to an unrepresentative bureaucracy.

The Chorus Clears Its Throat

Just before Marshal Tito left for Moscow, Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the Italian Communist Party, visited him for two days of secret conference.

While Tito was traveling in Russia, Signor Togliatti published a statement on Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech. Though he accepted the downgrading of Stalin, Togliatti criticized the present Soviet leadership, and he concluded on a negative note such as has not been sounded in the world Communist movement since 1927: "The question of the responsibility of the entire directing group must be considered."

Within a few days the Togliatti declaration was paralleled by similar declarations of the French,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WHEN BETTER LIES ARE PRODUCED THE KREMLIN WILL PRODUCE THEM
HEAVY INDUSTRY (USSR)

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British and American Communist Parties. Though it is conceivable that the Parties are reacting independently to their similar set of problems, the timing and close similarity of content suggest a concerted plan.

Is the critique of the Khrushchev-Bulganin "collective leadership" to be taken at face value? If so, then these statements prove that Khrushchev-Bulganin have not consolidated their power, and that the non-Soviet Parties are keeping the route open to support an anti-Khrushchev Soviet faction.

Or was the whole operation, *including* the critique of Khrushchev-Bulganin, hatched by the Khrushchev faction itself, working with Tito? If so, then it is part of a great deception through which a nominal Titoism will become the official Communist ideology, with the aim of sowing deeper illusions in the minds of the West.

Whatever the full answer, it remains clear that the non-Soviet Communist Parties have not yet taken a single step to draw away from Moscow, whatever their relations with Khrushchev; just as Moscow has taken no step to draw away from the Bolshevik world revolution, whatever its relation with the ghost of Stalin.

A real break will be easy to spot. It will be shown when any of the Parties, Soviet or non-Soviet, repudiates not individual Communist leaders but Communism; when it calls not for good Party manners, but for the freeing of the captive nations; when it demands full rights of political opposition and non-Communist political organization within the Soviet Union.

From White to Black

The late Harry Dexter White was the father of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—"World Bank," for short—which celebrated its tenth birthday on June 25. It is a pleasure to report that this is a case where the father would never recognize his own child.

Harry White had in mind a plump recruit to the army of global institutions that drain away American wealth and power. Instead, under the firm leadership of Eugene R. Black, the World Bank has behaved like—of all things—a bank.

There is no escaping the fact that the World Bank is a nominal affiliate of the UN or that its stockholders are 58 governments. We regret that this is so, and we see no reason (apart from globalist ideology) why it had to be. Granted that the bank could not have been formed without inter-governmental agreement, its capital funds could have come from private sources. Its relation with the UN is a pointless fraud. Still, though this millstone around its neck may eventually drown it, the bank's record is remarkably good.

This is because Eugene Black believes that loans are loans, not disguised gifts. The result has been a profit every year, and no defaults on a $2.75 billion portfolio.

In instructive contrast to the practice of our foreign aid dispensers, Mr. Black has rejected boondoggles and "unconditioned" grants. He demands genuinely productive enterprises. During the life of his loans he maintains a continuous control to make sure that the money is going according to contract and not to political whim. Since the initial capital subscription, the bank has raised its own funds by floating bonds on the market. "We do not pay our bills from your taxes," Mr. Black rightly boasted in a recent speech.

From the point of view of the globalist faith, Eugene Black's defense of international banking is an obvious heresy. "[The low material condition of most of the world] is certainly not the fault of the United States, and this country certainly has no obligation to do anything about it. I am not one of those people who believe that we owe the world a living . . . To believe that economic aid can win friends is to take altogether too simple a view of international relations . . . The right kind of program can build markets for industrial nations like the United States."

It would be unwise, of course, to let the bank's record remove all doubts based on its paternity. For what if Chester Bowles becomes Black's successor?

Economic Doublethink

Senator Mike Mansfield sees the race for economic progress currently being waged between China and India as having enormous consequences in Asia and Africa; for one is a totalitarian nation, the other a "free society." Should China outstrip India, Senator Mansfield warns, other countries will emulate the Communist way of doing things. Accordingly, the Senator recommends that the United States augment the scheduled eighty million dollars for India to give her a leg up in the contest.

The Senator fails to make the proper distinctions. A free economy is more efficient than a socialist economy. But India's economy is *not* free; it is in most relevant respects socialized. Hence the race between India and China is a race between two nationalized economies. In such a race, it can be expected that the planned society prepared to implement its economic decisions with political force will prevail over its rival.

Senator Mansfield should recognize that India will not do better than China, no matter how much money the U.S. pumps into her, so long as there is central interference with the Indian market place and with the accumulation and allocation of capital by individuals and corporations.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Why Mr. Rovere Likes Ike (II)

Last week we learned from Mr. Rovere—who, when he writes about such things, does so with the *imprimatur* of the Liberal Machine—that Eisenhower brought into the Presidency neither the relevant knowledge and talents, nor very much interest in domestic affairs; and that he proceeded to develop none of these things while in office. Which is why he worked out just fine. His Administration was what the Liberal doctors ordered because their patient, the New Deal, was in robust health and needed only to be left alone.

In other areas, however, Liberalism was under serious challenge. The certified way of dealing with the Communist menace at home was up against something called McCarthyism, and the certified way of dealing with the Communist menace abroad was up against the victorious Republican Party's official commitment to junk "the futile, immoral and negative policy of containment."

If Mr. Rovere has any criticism for Eisenhower in either of these areas, it is that he took his time in dealing with the reaction. But he lets Eisenhower off by observing that in the early days of his Administration, "he *had* . . . to move with [the Reaction] . . . for part of him was touched by it"—the point presumably being that before the Machine had had a real go at him, Eisenhower was understandably under the influence of his own campaign speeches.

In foreign policy the President's accomplishments, it turns out, are five:

1. He scotched the Republican Party's liberation policy that the electorate, in 1952, had overwhelmingly endorsed. It is commonplace, of course, to observe, as Mr. Rovere does, that "It is commonplace, of course, to observe that the Republicans under Eisenhower, far from making the changes they said it was time for, have adopted and adapted nearly all of the basic policies of the Democrats under Truman." Mr. Rovere then adds a twist to the commonplace, which is fast becoming a commonplace in its own right, and which is obviously designed as insurance against a repetition of the anti-Liberal revolt that occurred at the 1952 Republican Convention. Mr. Rovere writes that after the Geneva Conference,

> the record on the foreign policy of the Eisenhower Administration was pretty much all in. *The "bold new program" had been tried,* found wanting, and replaced by a program that was neither very new nor very bold, but that was formed by experience, a sharpened sense of reality, and the same morality that had characterized previous policies. [Emphasis mine.]

Two pages later, Rovere is working on the same argument, and without meaning to, gives the game away:

> [the Administration's foreign policy] evolution is at this stage complete. The mysteries are dissolved, the ambiguities resolved. . . No one now, for example, is in doubt as to what was meant by "massive retaliation," "liberation," or "agonizing reappraisal." Not very much was meant by any of them. This can be seen by an examination of deeds and of language that is not mere rhetoric.

Precisely. The "bold new program" was not tried at all. The fact that a liberation policy turned out to be mere rhetoric tells us something about the rhetoricians, but not very much about the merits of a liberation policy.

2. He held together the Western alliance. "The job of [the Eisenhower] Administration," Rovere writes, "was not to organize a concert of powers but to preserve one . . . In this, the most crucial of his responsibilities, [Eisenhower] has acquitted himself well."

In the eyes of the Liberal Machine, achievement *vis-à-vis* the Western alliance becomes achievement *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union. Playing under this rule, Mr. Eisenhower has had no trouble ingratiating himself with the Machine. There is not one of his manifold acts of appeasing the Soviet Union that did not contribute to "preserving the alliance" by accommodating the views of America's appeasement-minded partners.

3. He kept U.S. military chiefs in their places. Mr. Eisenhower's alleged overruling of the joint Chiefs of Staff during the Quemoy-Matsu crisis is in the class of Truman's firing of MacArthur—a piece of genuine Liberal heroism. Overruling generals and admirals is another of those things that the Machine assumes should be done as a matter of course. The question whether the generals and admirals are right is pretty well excluded from the discussion.

4. He achieved the outlawry of war at Geneva. The Big Four and the subsequent Foreign Ministers' Conference "could be judged a success," Mr. Rovere concludes, "insofar as they led to a Soviet commitment not to make war an instrument of policy and insofar as they bred in Russian minds and others an understanding of American policy"!

As regards the Soviet repudiation of war, Mr. Rovere concedes the possibility that it may not have been genuine. But here the views of Mr. Rovere, while consoling, are less important than those of Mr. Eisenhower and his Department of State. The latter parties have corroborative evidence (the nuclear-war-is-unthinkable thesis) for believing that the commitment *was* genuine, and have proceeded to shape U.S. military and diplomatic policy accordingly. Perhaps Mr. Eisenhower is right; but if the Russians were only spoofing—and Communists have been known to spoof in the past — his error in judgment could cost Western civilization its life.

5. He scuttled the Machine's opposition. We may all agree with Mr. Rovere that the man whom the Liberal Machine wet-nursed through his formative years

> has created an atmosphere in which the opinions of a man like Styles Bridges, which are really more representative of Republican thought than his own, are looked upon as deviationist in character.

In a word: by making Republican thought unorthodox, even within the Party, Eisenhower appears to have won permanent tenure in the Presidency for the foreign policy views of the Liberal Machine; and the Machine, being humble at heart, gives credit where credit is due.

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Edward R. Murrow: Poet of Mankind

The rewards of CBS's top-flight broadcaster are prodigious; his awards are numerous; he has been credited (*pace* Marconi) with destroying "the superstition of distance and time." And yet . . .

FINIS FARR

Edward R. Murrow, the "reporter and news analyst" who is also on the board of directors of the Columbia Broadcasting System, earned last year $317,076. This pile of loot, the highest awarded any company officer in the industry, did not include Murrow's royalties from *Person to Person,* a celebrity-interview program.

Bill Paley, Chairman of CBS, has long been convinced that his boy is a champion. At dinner before 1,000 notables in November 1941, Paley called Murrow "a man fitted to his time and to his task, a student, a philosopher, at heart a poet of mankind and, therefore, a great reporter." Although the style of this encomium led certain of the baser sort to suspect that it had been written by Murrow himself, it was topped by Archibald MacLeish, who swung for the verbal fences with: "Because you told them the truth and because you destroyed the superstition of distance and time which makes the truth turn false, you have earned the admiration of your countrymen." Carl Sandburg inscribed a photograph (of Sandburg) to "Ed Murrow, reporter, historian, inquirer, actor, ponderer, seeker."

Murrow is a Phi Beta Kappa, an Honorary Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, a holder of five honorary degrees and countless awards for broadcasting. Certainly the career of one who can so command both cash and credit leaves a heavy burden of proof on those who still maintain that Murrow is at best a mediocrity, inflated beyond all reason. Yet it seems that these dissenters have a case.

I looked into this matter by means of an informal survey of a part of Murrow's work. Leaving his thousands of radio scripts for some future Ph.D., I concentrated on his current vehicle, *See It Now,* which he describes as a "document . . . not designed to present hard, fast-breaking news." In this program Murrow and his partner, Fred W. Friendly, aim at a showing of ascertainable facts, usually through the pictures and voices of the people concerned, so that the audience can make up its collective mind on issues of the day.

Generally speaking, *See It Now* is strongly reminiscent of *The March of Time,* just as the Murrow bass-baritone reminds one of *Time's* Westbrook Van Voorhis. With his deadpan style, Murrow would be rather good as a tough private eye, and he is impressive in the role of "distinguished reporter and news analyst," surrounded with television gadgets at the start, appearing at various times throughout, and coming on at the finish to point the moral and adorn the tale.

The Treatment

But candor compels one to register certain doubts. The program on the American Civil Liberties Union controversy in Indianapolis, with which my research began, is an example.

The issue there was: should a meeting to organize a chapter of ACLU be permitted in the Indiana War Memorial? It wasn't; and after several other doors were closed in their faces, the agitators ended up in a Roman Catholic church. All very interesting. But was it quite fair to give the ACLU viewpoint to so skilled a professional pleader as Arthur Garfield Hays, and have the opposition voiced mainly by American Legionnaires in semi-military array? The closing spot went to the pastor of the church, a professional word-man. His glib statement of the Liberal point of view would leave many listeners with the conviction that somehow it was actually against the law to oppose the ACLU.

An equally striking document was assembled around the case of Lt. Milo Radulovich, dropped as an Air Force reservist because of alleged close association with relatives who were deemed subversive. By the time the administrative wheels stopped grinding, Lt. Radulovich was reinstated, and Harold Talbott took to the air via a subsequent *See It Now* to give out the news in a cagily worded statement. Murrow was unwilling to place the onus of the national need for security, and the misery it sometimes brings, on Communist intransigence. "We can't blame it on Malenkov or Mao Tse-tung," he said.

Somewhat similar treatment was accorded by *See It Now* to the Annie Lee Moss affair. Mrs. Moss was suspended from her civilian job by the Army because of an FBI report that she had been a Communist, and Murrow had a camera there when she testified before a congressional committee. He regarded this witness as one of the little people. "Tonight," he said, "we bring you the little picture of a little woman."

We see Senator McCarthy questioning Mrs. Moss and getting nowhere. Then McCarthy bustles out and Senators McClellan and Symington have questions to ask. They hear Mrs. Moss say that she is a good American, and wouldn't hurt her country. Although the committee is not a court and has no sentence to pass, Senator McClellan says he doesn't hold with this business of "convicting people by rumor." (Applause.) Then Senator Symington says he'll stick his neck out, and see that Mrs. Moss gets a job if the Army doesn't take her back. (Applause.) For the windup, Murrow shows us President Eisenhower making a statement in November 1953, which we are to take as applicable to the case in hand. The Presi-

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dent's rambling remarks: about habeas corpus (they can't throw you into jail to rot without charges), public opinion on the Kansas frontier (don't shoot a man in the back), and the right of Americans to attend Churches, or even mosques, of their own selection.

Since Mrs. Moss stood in no danger of a *lettre de cachet*, a shotgun blast, or exclusion from her place of worship, it was difficult to see a connection; which must have been quite clear to Murrow. Or perhaps the message was only that when they get in trouble over security, little people can make big friends.

McCarthy—and Oppenheimer

Murrow and his associate are especially proud of their telecast devoted entirely to McCarthy, which went out over the network on March 9, 1954. As his contribution, the poet of mankind presented, among other scenes, a film-clip of a McCarthy admirer reciting some verses of inconceivable silliness; and a shot of General Eisenhower, as a candidate, telling an audience that, if elected, he would keep subversion and disloyalty out of the Executive Branch. Next, Murrow exhibited some of the newspapers which had knocked McCarthy, including the Chicago *Tribune* but omitting the New York *Daily Worker*. The longest scene was that in which McCarthy kept hammering at a committee witness about a book the man had written 22 years before. In summing up, Murrow said that McCarthy had done all sorts of bad things, had persecuted people, and had "confused the public mind as between the internal and the external threat of Communism." This could be taken to mean that a Communist is okay, so long as he operates only in the U.S.

The McCarthy telecast represented Murrow's idea of putting a king-sized double whammy on a person of whom he thoroughly disapproved. Uncritical approbation, on the other hand, characterized the *See It Now* film of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer at the Institute for Advanced Study.

The Oppenheimer show grew out of a visit by Producer-Editor Friendly, who introduced himself to the famous physicist while passing through Princeton on vacation, much as a baseball fan might pay his respects to Joe Di Maggio, or a lover of literature drop in on Mickey Spillane. Friendly, who is personable and intelligent, got on famously with Oppenheimer, and sold him the idea of talking before the cameras with Murrow for possible use on *See It Now*. The resulting two-and-one-half hour conversation was edited to a 30-minute airshow, and a longer version was distributed to schools and colleges, with the Fund for the Republic gladly paying the freight. It was one of the most extraordinary documents Murrow ever produced.

The show was billed as presenting "a brief report on the work and purpose of the Institute as seen through the eyes and mind of one man — its Director, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer — a physisict." It actually presented an attempt to make it seem that the board which rescinded Dr. Oppenheimer's atomic security clearance was manned by idiots, of whom the most charitable view would be that they didn't know what they were doing; and that any security measures which scientists themselves cannot overrule are scandalously wrong. Dr. Oppenheimer was highly effective on camera, with his mobile, sensitive face, and, for all his articulate quality, a faintly preoccupied air. Set off against Murrow's dogged style, the doctor's performance was almost too good to be true.

Murrow opened with a couple of questions about the Institute, and Oppenheimer was rather vague and wide-eyed about it all. We were not told how one gets a berth at the Institute, much less how to land a life appointment; or who passes on the work; or how far the Director's personal authority runs. Oppenheimer wasn't even quite sure how the Institute began. (He was going to see if he could find someone to look into that.) Meanwhile, there were plenty of scholars and philosophers around the place, and those who were "our best friends" could come and go as they pleased. It was beginning to sound like the Abbey of Thélème — when Murrow fired the key question: "Is there a very widespread reluctance on the part of scientists in this country to work for the government?"

No, on the whole Dr. Oppenheimer didn't think so. But "when the government behaves badly in a field you are working close to, and when decisions that look cowardly or vindictive or shortsighted or mean are made, and that's very close to your area, then you get discouraged and you may — may — you may recite George Herbert's poem, 'I Will Abroad.' But I think that's human rather than scientific." This was delivered with an expression of heart-rending sadness, finished off with a brave smile.

Murrow then asked if the doctor was worried about "all the impediments placed in the way of free intercourse, travel and exchange among scientists." Dr. Oppenheimer certainly was disturbed: it was terrible, grotesque; it shamed us before Europeans; it was a scandal. This seemed

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to open the way for an interesting discussion, perhaps touching on the careers of Klaus Fuchs and others; but Murrow now came in with, "Well, Sir, apart from running the Institute, what do you do here?"

From this Oppenheimer took off, at times making sense, at times putting one in mind of Al Smith's oratory, which always sounded fine, but frequently failed to retain any meaning in transcription. The doctor touched on radioactivity (dangerous), "the integrity of communication" (important), secrecy (bad) and the H-bomb (very dangerous). Finally Oppenheimer brought forth the thought that we are more likely to be destroyed by an enemy weapon than by testing one of our own, and Murrow rang down the curtain. This time, there was no appropriate quotation from President Eisenhower, and Murrow signed off by saying of the Institute members, "These men recognize mystery. They welcome it and they wrestle with it."

One mystery which anyone may wrestle with is why Murrow—and CBS—lend their extensive resources to this kind of thing.

Murrow's Mission

The network and the feature star got together in 1935. Murrow, born in North Carolina, had graduated in 1930 from Washington State College, spent the next five years as President and Assistant Director, respectively, of the National Student Federation and the Institute of International Education, then come to CBS as a lesser bureaucrat on the administrative side. In 1937 he was sent to Europe as legman lining up speakers and features, with the title of European Director.

He did not begin to broadcast until March 1938, when he flew into Vienna in a chartered plane just ahead of the Nazi troops. Thereafter he was never without a regular spot on CBS air. After Anschluss came Munich, the war and the London blitz. Murrow broadcast through it all. After the war, Paley made him a Vice President, and Director of Public Affairs; but he returned to the microphone in 1947, and, with Friendly, converted to television in 1951.

In 1952 Murrow issued a book called *This I Believe,* in which people in various walks of life entered their guiding principles. Murrow has written so little for print that his foreword to this book is especially interesting. It seems he considers himself one whose mission is to provide others with "information on which opinion and belief can be based."

He has seen many men, with many beliefs, ranging from Catholicism to Communism. They came to these beliefs by many roads, and it was all quite fascinating to Murrow. The night after the Munich agreement was signed, for example, he talked with Jan Masaryk in his London Embassy: "Jan believed that somehow, some way, the forces of evil would be defeated. Speaking of Hitler and Mussolini, he said, 'I assure you, God will not let two such heathens control Europe.' His belief, at that time, was greater than my own."

This passage shows that Murrow knew Masaryk well enough to refer to him as "Jan," which is not surprising. It also shows that Murrow does not consider it worth while to add to his anecdote the fact that Masaryk was later murdered by Communists, who took over his country and hold it to this day. And that, one feels, *is* rather surprising. Further on, Murrow remarks that "it was a difference in belief in the things regarded as worth being killed for . . . that divided the North and South Koreans." That's one way of looking at it, to be sure. Murrow concludes, "We have thought it useful to present these brief statements by people who have attempted to define what it is that they believe . . . at a time when the tide runs toward a shore of conformity, when dissent is often confused with subversion, when a man's belief may be subject to investigation as well as his action . . ."

Those who are depressed by such flat generalizations may be comforted by the fact that even a certified Liberal can sometimes make a mistake, just as the rest of us do. Some of Murrow's are on simple grounds of taste. A horrible example was furnished in his *magnum opus,* the front-line report called *Christmas in Korea,* telecast on December 24, 1952. Here Murrow's habit of getting in front of his own cameras at last caught up with him.

It was not in his GI interviews, painful as they were, that Murrow exhibited to the full what Mrs. Fiske called "that firm, firm touch—on the wrong note." It came at the end, when we saw a long shot of the members of a GI night combat patrol plodding into the cold hills as the sun went down—a bleakly impressive scene. The only trouble was that the foreground was almost entirely occupied by Murrow, taking a bow.

John D. Kreuttner

"We welcome Honest Dissent—providing that you conform to our ideas on nonconformity!"

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Letter from London

F. A. VOIGT

Britain's Endangered Lifeline

To defend her trade-routes and lines of communication with the Commonwealth, Britain must hold certain bases or strategic positions overseas. In the past, all her positions were also possessions. Today, she is confronted with catastrophe in four bases—Singapore, Ceylon, Aden and Cyprus.

The British withdrawal from India created a strategic vacuum. The defense of the region extending from Mesopotamia to Malaya was based on India. The loss of Abadan and its oil-refineries was a consequence of the loss of India. The oil-wells and refineries of Iraq, Bahrein and Saudi Arabia can no longer be defended against an invading Russian army except by measures on the part of the Atlantic allies against Russia herself —i.e., by a nuclear war.

Withdrawal from the Suez Canal Zone created another strategic vacuum. While Britain held the Zone, she was the principal defender of a region of the highest strategic, commercial, political and international importance. Her withdrawal has immensely reduced — perhaps eliminated altogether — the Atlantic allies' ability to master the Middle Eastern crisis.

In the event of war, Great Britain has the right to reoccupy the Zone, but the practical value of this right is questionable. So she is resolved to retain Cyprus at all costs as a (very inadequate) substitute.

The Egyptian claim to the Zone was based on the principle that a national state has an unconditional right to absolute sovereignty over every part of real or alleged national territory. British supporters of the Egyptian claim based their arguments also on their belief that it is not only unethical but, in the end, impossible to hold a base against the wishes of the local population. British opponents of the withdrawal, while not explicitly repudiating the right of self-determination, urged overriding necessity and demanded continued occupation by force if need be.

The withdrawal from India was decided by a Labor government, the withdrawal from the Canal Zone by a Conservative government. Both decisions were made in response to political pressure at home and abroad. It has been said with some truth that Great Britain was not driven but talked out of India and other overseas territories she has lost. And today, none of the four endangered positions is threatened by a foreign besieging army. They all are threatened by abstract principles.

Britain is prepared to concede self-government to Singapore with only one reservation — that she retain the minimum authority needed to prevent the total collapse of law. The purpose of this reservation is neither political nor economic, but military. For the defense against a foreign enemy would be gravely encumbered if Singapore were in an uproar and there were a breakdown of supplies and public services.

The case of Ceylon is analogous — except that, whereas Singapore *is* a British base, Ceylon is a large island on which there are some British bases (at Trincomalee and Katunyake). British rights exist by virtue of a British-Ceylonese treaty of alliance.

This was, or seemed, an ideal arrangement. But a swing in the Ceylonese mood produced a government of that combined nationalist and socialist color which is, in varying shades, characteristic of the revolutionary movement that has gripped all countries in the region extending from Indonesia to Morocco. Swayed, as all those countries are, mainly by ideas that are entirely of Western origin, Ceylon challenges the treaty as incompatible with national pride.

What is Great Britain to do? Give up her rights under the treaty or maintain them by force? It would seem that the use of force is excluded. And if no new arrangement is possible with Ceylon, Great Britain will have to find an alternative position — perhaps in North or West Australia.

The security of the British base at Aden and of the Aden Protectorate is maintained with the cooperation of the chiefs in the territory and in the neighboring Yemen. But under the influence of revolutionary ideas — ideas that are old in the Western world but new in Arabia — and at the instigation of Egyptian propaganda, the British Aden Protectorate is threatened. (A conspicuous example of the revolutionary manner in which a weak power, like Egypt, can strike at a strong power, like Britain, at long range with the weapon of ideas.) But we can assume that Britain will hold Aden at all costs.

The case of Cyprus (last discussed in NATIONAL REVIEW of April 4) differs from the other three. There, the British position is challenged by none of the parties concerned. All of them — Britain herself, Greece, Turkey, and the Cypriots — are agreed that Britain shall continue to hold Cyprus as a base, or to hold a base or bases in Cyprus. All are agreed that the security of the Eastern Mediterranean and of the Middle East is the overriding consideration. It is the Christian majority of Cypriots, supported by Greece, which, against the opposition of the Moslem minority, demands that their island be transferred from the British to the Hellenic Crown — without prejudice to Britain's indubitable strategic needs. British Conservative opinion, galled by successive withdrawals from British territory, suddenly stiffened, so that Cyprus is now being claimed both as a *possession* and a position.

Some British observers hold that Great Britain can and must keep Cyprus as a *position* — and can safely allow the island to pass under the Hellenic Crown. By virtue of the Anglo-Hellenic alliance and the desire of all parties concerned that Cyprus remain strategically defensible, Great Britain would then have even greater security in the Eastern Mediterranean than she has today.

If the Cyprus situation were to deteriorate beyond repair, Great Britain — and the Atlantic Alliance — will hold no strategic position of any importance between Aden and Malaya. This would mean that Ceylon and Malaya (and, with them, India, East Pakistan, and Burma) will be defenseless against Red China and the Soviet Union.

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Why Congress Balks

NATIONAL REVIEW **has been permitted to examine a large sampling of letters that Senators have been receiving during the past six weeks on the subject of foreign aid. These are running about ten to one for deep cuts or elimination. In reproducing typical letters from voters in many parts of the country, we note that each Senator receives mail from all states; so that the place of origin of a letter, here given, is no indication of the particular Senator to whom it was sent.**

We, the people, are tired and disgusted with the continuous and perpetual appropriations and donations by this country to what is commonly known as foreign aid. Our backs are galled with the heavy load of income taxes, notwithstanding that such appropriations are unconstitutional and can serve no good purpose for the reason that you cannot buy friendship with money. The more we give, the more they expect from us. Any high school boy would know better than to donate billions to antagonistic countries, even friendly countries, in an effort to unify the world.

Belzoni, Mississippi

With respect to the Foreign Aid Bill, may I ask if those in favor of it have ever considered the question "What kind of loyalty do you expect to buy for money?"

Why not give our real allies, Chiang and Syngman Rhee, all they need and cut the others out, possibly with the exception of West Germany? And use the rest to bring our own defenses up to par or reduce our debt. I don't begrudge taxes for that. But it really infuriates me to think that even one cent of my tax money should go to the Communist Kremlin's celebrated friend Tito.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Friendship purchased with American dollars is no true friendship at all. It has up to now brought only more ill will for the American people than it has true friendship.

Baltimore, Maryland

A lot of us are getting fed up with the International WPA the government is running with our tax money. Ten years after the last war ended we are still dishing out money to our allies, and any other nation that sets up a whine.

Whoever was responsible for pouring millions into Yugoslavia should be tarred and feathered.

After all, Eisenhower has been in office nearly four years and I think it is high time that he, and you, and all the other members of Congress realized that while the U.S. Government may be Santa Claus, the U.S. taxpayer isn't.

About four years ago a young married couple asked me to figure their federal income tax. That year they had a joint income of only a little over $2,700. And, so help me, they had to pay a little over $250 income taxes. You know as well as I do that $2,700 a year is only a "get-by" income these days and it is a shame that a couple should have to pay any income taxes at all on such a low income.

Globe, Arizona

I think the Senate should cut even more from foreign aid than was done in the House. And certainly none of that should go to Yugoslavia.

Evanston, Illinois

Mr. Dulles believes it would be dangerous not to vote the entire Foreign Aid Bill. I wonder if he sees the danger in *voting* it. From the sidelines. it seems that we have a great and present danger in the possibility of a tax revolt. . . .

The danger is that some Poujadist will arise and get so big a following that our whole financial structure will collapse. This man would have no trouble in convincing people that they were overtaxed, that their money could be used to feed their own children rather than be grabbed by foreign officials for their own use, that their whole life and that of their family would be wrecked if this ruthless demand by our government for our money keeps increasing with no signs of a letup. He would point out that there seems to be no relief in sight from either political party and by electing him a start toward relief would be made. That is how Poujade did it, and they laughed at him. It could be done here and the one who did it would not have to tell the people lies, only half-truths.

Titusville, Pennsylvania

I feel we must call a halt to the wasteful gifts of billions of dollars to nations that seem to be playing us for the well-known "sucker." Tito is the classic example, though he is not alone. It is time we woke up and revised our thinking on foreign aid and I know the Senate must do its share at once.

Belmont, Massachusetts

Thank you for your fight against foreign aid. Especially India's Nehru and Yugoslavia's Tito. There still must be Alger Hisses in the Administration.

Monroe, Louisiana

I am an Engineer, and have talked to hundreds of my fellow employees about the foreign aid program. I haven't found a man that is in favor of the President's request for additional funds. Ninety per cent are for discontinuing all foreign aid. We all think it's about time for the American taxpayer to be given some consideration from the people we elect to represent us in Washington.

Beloit, Wisconsin

How much longer is our government going to continue the policy of trying to buy friends and make allies with cash?

The people on the street have more guts and judgment than to keep up this farce. If you are not convinced, ask the next ten citizens you meet. I find not a single one of my acquaintance, Democrats or Republicans, who approves increased spending abroad.

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on Foreign Aid

By THE VOTERS

The Russians fear West Germany, Korea and Nationalist China. The rest of them are not worth a damn as allies and never were.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

I am writing, for myself and five sons of mine, in regard to this giveaway program. I am 77 years old, soon be seventy-eight. I have paid income tax since the beginning, served in the army in World War One, had three boys in the last war.

We are tired of this giveaway program. I will not get one penny of this back. I am not in that class. My job is to pay and receive nothing in return. Try your utmost to cut this to the bone.

Picayune, Mississippi

Our family must be one of a tremendous number in America who watch government proceedings with great interest. We extend to you our heartfelt appreciation for the attitude you are taking to defend the welfare of our own people. We are *very* much opposed to giving away huge sums of hard-earned American money, and you are too.

And, you are making yourself count up there in Washington.

Athens, Tennessee

With all the billions we have given away, what has it gained us? Nothing but enmity. The Communists want us to spend ourselves into bankruptcy and we are well on the way.

There is a bottom to the well of American dollars.

Houston, Texas

It doesn't make any sense at all that we should be taxed so the Administration can lavish money on such enemies of democracy as Tito, Nasser and Nehru. It's time we came to our senses and put an end to this dangerous extravagance.

New York, New York

I write and ask you to cut *foreign aid* down to help *only* 1) Nationalist China, 2) South Korea, 3) Spain.

Let us cut out *all* the other countries, especially *Yugoslavia* and *India.*

At least, fight *hard* to *keep the cut* of over a billion made by the House. Let us reduce our *own national debt instead!*

I feel that Presidents, Secretaries of State and Supreme Court Justices should be shown *where to get off.* Congress should *not* be a rubber stamp! Congress represents *us — the people!*

Vote against Foreign Aid!

Oakland, California

I never wrote to a congressman in my life but this is it. Another $4.8 billions for foreign aid! This is stupid. When are we, Americans, going to get relief from this tax burden? After all, our local and state taxes have increased this year.

I sincerely request your help in attaining some relief for us taxpayers. If not I most certainly will throw my support to whomever will do so.

Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin

We just cannot agree with John Foster Dulles and his ten-year-aid plan or giveaway program, or with Harold Stassen for that matter.

It would be well for both of them to come to the Middle West and see what we all think of this matter. It is high time something was being done for the home folk.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

In the coming months I hope you will use your influence in cutting down appropriations to such countries as India which do not appreciate our aid and are too friendly to our enemies.

I hope the Conservative Democrats and Conservative Republicans will unite and cooperate, and, if necessary, form a new party.

Wheaton, Illinois

In my opinion taxing the American public to extend aid to foreign countries is fundamentally wrong and steps should be taken by this Congress definitely to terminate the program.

Quite aside from whether Congress has a right to take our tax money and give it away abroad, I feel that if our foreign policy depends on financial grants to those whom we wish to influence, then we have reached a low ebb in foreign relations.

You will note that I haven't touched on . . . the need for tax reduction here at home which cannot be done unless the Congress can substantially reduce federal expenditures. This problem, as you realize better than I, would become particularly acute if even a slight recession in business activity should occur.

London, New Hampshire

I would like to suggest that you take personal heed and suitable action on the wave of resentment sweeping the country against further foreign aid, particularly where it is patently excessive. I have been getting this strong wind, with facts to back it up, from many sources: from industrial leaders who have wide foreign interests, as well as those whose interest is purely domestic.

Tucson, Arizona

One of the reasons advanced in the past by our political leaders for expending funds for foreign aid is that this represents a sound investment in peace. We think it fundamental, and history has provided many examples, that friendship can not be purchased and those who are willing to sell their support to the highest bidder are in reality liabilities and not assets.

While we have no criticism of a policy of assisting real frends who are dedicated to opposing Communism in its many forms, we certainly do not support, and there can be no justification for, a giveaway program of the type now before Congress.

Los Angeles, California

It is extremely doubtful if we ever made ourselves look sillier on the world stage than with Tito, the Fox. This one is not only difficult to explain away today—but it will get much worse before it gets better.

Los Angeles, California

Stop *all* foreign aid from now on.

Tucson, Arizona

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Ten for the Money

The Liberal propaganda Machine, which at the most recent appearance of this column was "playing possum," is back in business—with an "eyes only" directive that must read approximately as follows:

"We dare not blind ourselves to the fact that the Administration's defeat on increased foreign economic aid is a defeat for us—in the three-fold sense that a) it impairs the prestige of a Chief Executive whom we have completely captured, b) it endangers a policy-goal to which we are deeply committed, and c) it calls into question our ability to move U.S. public opinion in a desired direction. We must reverse this defeat.

"Our tack, for the moment, is: First, to avoid as much as possible give-and-take arguments with the Congress reactionaries and their apologists about the *inherent rightness* or *desirability* of large-scale foreign economic aid. Second, to shift major responsibility for this phase of our operation out of the hands of our editorial writers and commentators and into the hands of our news personnel. Third, to plug news stories calculated to drive home to our readers (and, of course, to play down stories calculated to cast doubt on) the following themes:

For Maximum Emphasis

"1. The so-called recent 'changes' in the Soviet Union, whether permanent or temporary, show conclusively that the Communists will henceforth de-emphasize 'military competition' and shoot the works on 'economic and political competition.'

"2. Any refusal on our part to meet the Communists on the new economico-political ground they have chosen will be interpreted, the world over, as expressing a net U.S. preference for decisions by war. So will continued emphasis, in our public counsels and calculations, on military competition.

"3. Though political competition—specifically, competition via propaganda and alliances—is important, the crucial competition henceforth will be *economic,* and will take two forms: a race between the U.S. and the USSR to decide which of the two can *produce* more; and a race between them to decide which, via economic aid, can have the greater impact upon the economies of other countries.

"4. The United States must choose between a) hurling itself into this two-fold competition, and b) lagging progressively behind the Soviet Union in the cold war; which is to say that insofar as the United States wishes to survive, it must choose a); so that ever-increasing production and ever-increasing foreign aid move over into the category of strategic-tactical *imperatives.*

"5. In these new forms of competition (by contrast with the military form) we must keep ahead *in all categories, everywhere, all the time, both relatively and absolutely;* any decline in the rate of expansion of the U.S. productive machine, any tapering-off in the rise of any identifiable economic index, is a threat to our survival; anything the Soviet Union gives away that we might have given away *strengthens* it and *weakens* us. And time is of the essence.

"6. Foreign aid, when extended without strings, pays enormous dividends—in friendship and commitment to anti-Communist economic orthodoxy on the one hand, in expanding U. S. markets on the other. Where foreign aid is tied in with military alliances, by contrast, it produces first resentment, then edginess, then neutralism and—this being by no means the same thing—repudiation of United States leadership of the free world.

"7. The underdeveloped nations—that is, the potential recipients of expanded U.S. foreign aid—are not so much asking for as *demanding* the assistance they require, and are in no mood to take 'No' for an answer. This, moreover, is only natural: seeing the plenty in which we live, and having been taught by our historical example to feel themselves as good as anyone else, they cannot be expected to adopt the traditional posture of the beggar at the rich man's door. Only the old-fashioned now expect them to adopt that posture.

"8. The Russians are strong, and getting stronger every minute, so that competing with them will demand all the energy and resourcefulness we can command. What matters least, however—since there is going to be no war, and since military power is today merely a deterrent—is their *military* strength; our concern is their economy, which is infinitely dynamic, capable of indefinite expansion, and brilliantly organized.

"9. Our economy, by contrast, given our present domestic market and our prospects (in the absence of increased foreign aid) in world commerce, is capable of scant further expansion. Moreover, and again by contrast with the Soviet economy, it is *vulnerable,* because it has an inherent tendency to produce more than the income it distributes will suffice to buy (as witness the present situation in the automobile industry). We can stave off *stagnation* either by increased immigration (that is, enlarging our domestic market) or by increased foreign aid (that is disposing of our surpluses abroad and, in the long run, so expanding our foreign market). Purely aside from Soviet competition, increased foreign aid is necessary to our survival.

"10. The Congress of the United States misunderstands the world situation, is dominated by selfish and local interests, and is, in any case, incapable of taking the long view. Its opposition to increased foreign aid reflects each of these shortcomings.

"Given the present climate of opinion, these themes mostly do not lend themselves to profitable treatment by editorialists and commentators. Each of them, however, is capable of indefinite elaboration and embroidery in apparently untendentious news reports. And each of them is, we believe, of such character that it will —often without our tying it back to the immediate issues before the country—contribute to the ultimate triumph (in policy if not in public opinion) of the foreign aid idea."

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The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Maginot Line of the Air?

Nothing could be more trite than saying that a general staff always prepares for the last war. Once this is known, one would think that it could no longer be true. The danger, being recognized, will be avoided.

But it is not so easy as all that. The regressive bias of military planning does not spring merely from ignorance. The military leadership is a rigid bureaucracy within a bureaucracy. There is little place for imagination, daring or insight within the bureaucratic structure, which inevitably presses toward conformism.

We are now in the midst of a sharp dispute over armament policy. What seems to be the forward-looking side insists that we must drop the idea of "balanced forces" and concentrate on maintaining strategic air superiority. Control of the air, the argument goes, will decide any future war.

It seems to be assumed that there are only two basic points of view in this dispute: the air power doctrine, and the traditional idea that there must be a balanced, well-rounded development of land, sea and air forces.

Is it possible that *both* of these views really belong to the past?

Is it even possible that a gigantic strategic air force may prove to be the Maginot Line of the future?

This last question was posed immediately after the Second World War by one of its most brilliant airmen. Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, Chief of the British Bomber Command, wrote a book called *Bomber Offensive,* which was little noticed in this country or, so far as I know, in his own (Macmillan, 1947). With the kind permission of the publishers, I shall quote from his disturbing final chapter:

"In no future war can we count on such folly as the Germans and the Japanese showed or such neglect by our enemies of whatever may be the most powerful weapon to hand . . . In the future it will be as fatal to rely on an antiquated weapon as to have no weapon at all, and, as I see it, there is a very great danger of this happening. For in the next war whoever has charge of the most powerful weapon then developed will have a worse time than the Air Force had in the 1939 war. He will have not only the admirals and the generals against him, but the air marshals as well.

Bombs and Bombers

"Already there has been a far too easy acceptance of the idea that the atomic explosive is necessarily an atomic bomb, a weapon to be carried in aircraft, from which it is argued that the bomber is what is now required for modern warfare. I myself regard the bomber as having had its day in the last war, when it was undoubtedly the predominant weapon . . . I have not the slightest doubt that the Air Force will go the way of the other services and tend to cling to the antiquated weapons with which it will conceive its interests to be bound up; an obvious line of defense for the bomber will be to insist on its use for the dropping of atomic bombs.

"It is true that the atomic explosive has to be carried by something, and perhaps a few very fast, very long-range aircraft would provide a convenient means of carrying it. But it is much more efficient if put into a missile which has no crew and is directed by radar and mechanical means. It does not necessarily have to be carried by anything resembling a missile within the meaning of the act. There is no doubt that it is becoming, and will continue to become, easier and simpler to produce, and to disguise the production of, atomic explosives; my own opinion is that an ordinary Embassy official, or, for that matter a commercial traveller or tourist, will eventually prove just as good, and potentially more secretive, a conveyor of atomic explosives as any aircraft, rocket, or other machine.

"There is no reason why the parts of an atomic bomb, or rather let us not call it an atomic bomb but an atomic exploder, should not be brought in bit by bit by seemingly innocent people and assembled anywhere where cover can be found, in an Embassy, attic, lodging, or in a ship in harbor. The threat of its presence could then be used to back an ultimatum, or it could be used to destroy outright the area in which it was placed. So let us not imagine that wars—once an affair of small professional armies and just lately the concern of entire nations—are necessarily to remain within the province of what are called 'the armed forces.'

"Most probably wars will be mainly taken over by the scientists, the diplomats, and the 'cloak and dagger men.' With weapons potentially so lethal as atomic explosives there is no need to embroil millions in production and in battle for many years when decisions can be brought about in a few seconds by the exercise of a little chicanery on the part of a very few persons."

Direct or Indirect?

If we make use of Liddell Hart's favorite thesis, we may say that the defect in current plans based on strategic air power, as in the French plans of a generation ago based on the frontal fortifications of the Maginot Line, is that they express a "strategy of direct approach." Consequently they enable the enemy to concentrate his maximum resistance potential in reply.

A winning strategy, Captain Hart believes, always proceeds through "an indirect approach," outflanking the line of the enemy's thrust, either in a literal geographic sense or through the effect of timing, deception or surprise.

And is it not a fact of the present, as well as of a possible future, that our superior nuclear and air power has indeed been outflanked: by the enemy's "indirect" strategy of multi-dimensional political warfare; a set of operations which, moreover, prepares for precisely that mode of handling nuclear explosives which Sir Arthur Harris foresees?

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Principles and Heresies

Of Khrushchev, Stalin, and Sitting Ducks

FRANK S. MEYER

There is, if I read the signs aright, great danger that, as we view the dramatic spectacle of the devaluation of Stalin and speculate about the motivations and inner-power struggles involved in it, we shall speculate about everything but the substance of the matter and ask every question but the serious one. That question is the one Communists themselves always address to developments of importance: what is the objective historical meaning of these events?

To guide us in finding the answer, there exists a primary set of data, but one which the "experts" seem systematically to ignore. This is the fifty years history of the politics of the Bolshevik Party. That party, under the Czar, in revolution, and in power, steadily, if not unerringly, has pursued a policy and has more than half achieved a goal, World Communism, always guided by a basic philosophy and a methodology of strategy and tactics — Marxism-Leninism. Protean though its expressions, it has remained in the minds of those who hold it monolithic in its essence. Those who died, denigrated in the purges of the thirties, were inspired by it no less and no more than their master executioner (this is the great insight of Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*).

Symbolic Function

Their denigration served a functional purpose, irrelevant to their merits or to their service to the Communist cause. It became the symbol (whether necessary or unnecessary, at least necessary in Stalin's mind, in the mind of him who represented the Party) of the establishment of certain policies implicit in Leninism and at that point explicitly demanded by the conditions and the problems of the period.

For the present leadership, facing a new epoch created by the immense victories of Communism since World War Two, the denigration of Stalin serves the same symbolic function in their establishment of a new line under new circumstances — *a new line, not a new philosophy or a new methodology or a new goal.* What happened at the 20th Congress is but the inner-Party manifestation of the shift of line of which Geneva, the reconciliation with Tito, and the general tone of Soviet foreign policy are the manifestation in the field of foreign affairs.

A Shift of Grand Strategy

This is no minor turn in the line. A change in the objective world situation as the Communist leaders analyze it, of sufficient import to justify so dangerous a symbolic act as the destruction of the Stalin myth, is undoubtedly decisive enough to make of this turn one of the two or three most far-reaching reorientations of grand strategical plan in the entire history of Communism. Its significance is far greater than the significance of tactical changes such as that, for instance, from the People's-Front line to the Hitler alliance — and its effects will show themselves much more radically.

Rather, it is of the order of the great shift of position in the middle and late twenties, which transformed the perspective of more or less immediate world revolution to that of a long waiting period, in which the national power of the Soviet Union was to become the fundamental strategical concern of Communism. That change was consummated only with the destruction of the political power of nine-tenths of the Central Committee of 1917, with profound changes in the agricultural and industrial policies of the Communist Party, and with a reorientation of the aims of Soviet foreign policy from top to bottom.

There can be no doubt as to what the Communist leadership regards as the great change in the world situation which requires so epochal a reorientation now. It was already indicated in Stalin's last work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*: it breathes through every section of Khrushchev's main political report to the 20th Congress. It is the belief that the balance of world power has shifted decisively to Communism; that the period of "capitalist encirclement" is ended and the period of "socialist encirclement" begun; that the inertia of history is now moving in the direction of final victory for the Communists.

Such a situation clearly demands that everything possible be done to avoid the only eventuality that could any longer cause serious difficulties: the development of a dedicated counterrevolutionary force, clear on the nature of Communism and determined to throw it back. All that is needed is to avoid a struggle *à l'outrance* and, by anti-Stalin "humanizing" gestures, to release the Messianic appeal which Communism, as the only inspired — one might almost say, the only "religious" — materialist doctrine, always potentially holds in a materialist age.

A Vulnerable Target

The changes that have so far occurred in Communist tactics are but a beginning. For what is coming as the grand strategical plan unfolds, the Liberal-collectivist Establishment, which forms our attitudes and our policies, is, to put it mildly, a sitting duck. With no understanding of the underlying permanent content of Communism, mistaking strategical and tactical waves for the tide, they have directed all our efforts against the surface and changing manifestations of Communism.

Their materialist, collectivist and social-engineering outlook is at bottom so much in agreement with the Soviet outlook that if the monstrosities to which the *consistent* collectivist policy of Communism leads can be in any way disguised, they are defenseless against it — particularly given some counterposed danger upon which they can concentrate, such as Hitler in the thirties or the threat of nuclear destruction today. Under their leadership we have long fought a withdrawing battle. The new Soviet strategy is designed to turn that withdrawal into a rout.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Elvis Presley and the Mozart Year

The rout of critical integrity continues, and the rather shameless alliance between our intelligentsia and the entertainment mass industry is no longer just a trend. As I pointed out in a recent discussion of the debauch ("Food for Thoughtlessness," June 27), the industry has purchased that truce by purchasing the intellectuals. And we have just about reached this hilarious paradox: the certified highbrows assure the nation that everything is getting better, culturally, every day in every way; while the proudly coarse lowbrows begin to squirm in honest apprehension.

For instance, Professor Jacques Barzun (who should know better but apparently doesn't) crowds the bookstalls, the journals and even the magazine covers with high-pitched testimonials to the improving taste of the nation. But New York's tabloids show sudden signs of horror over the sheer obscenity which TV throws into the common man's home.

The incitement to the lowbrow's rebellion against the "mass media" was one Elvis Presley, a pimply and thoroughly nasty young man who rotates his abdominal muscles on TV screens with the abandon of an old strip-teaser and the elegance of a waterfront slattern. He also sings. And one has to hear this pathetic wail of vulgarity to believe it. At any rate, Mr. Presley is at the moment the hottest thing on TV.

Of course, when faced with such an ugly tumor of mass taste, one can choose equanimity and say that this, obviously, is just funny—some quirk in the nation's sense of humor, mere flotsam of inverted laughter, and most certainly a passing fad. Wasn't there the loony swooning over Frank Sinatra ten years ago, and the national crying over Johnnie Ray five years later, only to be remembered today with a nostalgic smile about a healthy generation's funny growing pains? So what if Elvis Presley "sends" a few million adolescent girls? Soon they'll marry, have children and, ever after, happily vote for Eisenhower.

But the incredible luck that, so far, has saved the nation will not stay with us for ever. As in all case histories of addiction, the dosage needs to be constantly increased. Johnnie Ray made Frank Sinatra look reserved; and compared with Mr. Presley, Mr. Ray incarnates classicism. So that the next generation, to be tickled at all, may have to flirt with octopi. And, somewhere along that line, we must reach a point when not even American girls can snap back into regulation posture. Some future Elvis Presley will stick with us as the incarnation of national charm.

The tabloids have raised the question whether the TV industry can really continue to claim that it is only serving what the audience craves. The lowbrows, thank God, begin to deny that the customer is always right. And the particular beauty of this healthy development is that it catches the Liberal intelligentsia in cahoots with the purveyors of dope.

True, Professor Jacques Barzun has not, as yet, come out in defense of Elvis Presley. But this is irrelevant. The significant fact of the situation is that our "mass communications" have not only engaged the services of our Liberals but are at their service. Mr. Edward R. Murrow is *Mr.* Television. A directory of the key positions in our mass entertainment industries reads like a list of yesterday's contributors to the *New Republic.* They all have arrived. And so has Mr. Elvis Presley.

The triumph of the Presleys, it seems to me, is inseparable from the triumph of the Murrows. The Liberal would-be manipulators of the masses, to gain and keep control, must constantly flatter them. And the more brazenly they manufacture the *political* mass imagery, the more generously must the Liberal manipulators allow the lowest mass instincts to express themselves in other fields. If a mass audience is to tolerate Mr. Murrow and Mr. Joseph Welch, the lawyer-clown from Boston, as the articulators of their political sentiments, then that mass audience will stand for no further repression of their non-political cravings. And if Mr. Murrow has to choose between his right to pervert the country's political convictions, and the audience's right to be protected against its own low cultural instincts, he will always decide in favor of Mr. Elvis Presley.

Several weeks ago, strangely moved by the dream that seemed to motivate the undertaking, I visited a Mozart Festival in drab Stratford, Conn. Everywhere else in the world, to celebrate Mozart's 200th anniversary, the greatest musicians will gather to make the finest music for the largest audiences. In America, we had to make do with Stratford, Conn., in a style and setting Albania would have been ashamed of.

It was no festival. It was a fictitious pilgrimage to a fictitious shrine in a fictitious mood of celebration. The music was delightful, the musicians quite satisfactory—but I am not going to report here a musical event. Rather, I want to file a distressed protest.

It is simply not true that the disproportion between this utterly provincial Mozart Festival and Mr. Elvis Presley's nation-wide audience reflects America's cultural reality. The terrible thing that's happening here is a terrible misunderstanding on the part of our rich who, as in every preceding society, can't help administering the cultural heritage. Our rich, God help us, assume that the rules of the market must also apply to the cultural area; that in culture, too, the customer is always right; and that in culture no less than in the supermarket the majority has it.

In all America, 200 years after Mozart was born, not a single tycoon felt the ambition to have his name (or even the brand name of his product) connected with music which, so far as humanly foreseeable, will outlive Mr. Elvis Presley. If there had been such a tycoon, and if he had spent on this version of "public relations" what an average sponsor spends on a single TV "spectacular," Mozart might have gracefully nodded our way; and America, the richest country on earth, might have enjoyed a fraction of the splendor which, for instance, little Austria will inhale all this year.

As there was no such tycoon, the year is safely Mr. Presley's. May the Lord have mercy on us.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Genius on the Couch

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

When a psychoanalyst has somebody under his care, he has almost endless access to the patient's musings, thoughts and dreams. Presumably, if he knows his business and the patient's money holds out, he can hang on until he gets somewhere. But with the psychoanalysis of artists who died long ago, the data must by their very nature be insufficient.

Artists have the quality of imagination; they are also in the business of observing other people. Nobody knows just what Shakespeare, for example, took from his own experience and what he took from a capacious knowledge built up by the use of his eyes and his ears. Was he Hamlet? If so, was he also Falstaff? And Hotspur? And the endless number of clowns, knaves, villains, kings and lovers that streamed from his pen in such richly variegated profusion? Faced with the task of psychoanalyzing Shakespeare from the contradictory data of his plays and sonnets, not even the shrewdest medico could presume to succeed. The very fact that certain literary detectives think Shakespeare was Marlowe while others insist he was Francis Bacon is proof enough that genius, if it is only great enough, can be practically indecipherable.

Despite the protean nature of genius, however, Freudians insist on applying their categories to the study of famous writers, philosophers and musicians. Dr. Edward Hitschmann, an Austrian who was commended by Sigmund Freud himself, made many forays into the lives of artists. A number of these have just been collected by editors Sydney G. Margolin and Hannah Gunther in a volume called *Great Men* (International Universities Press, $4).

As essays in biography they are far from being outrageous; an humble man for his calling, Dr. Hitschmann admits at one point that psychoanalysis "does not pretend to know the origin of special talents." But even though he is humble in the face of the mystery of the creative process, Dr. Hitschmann does manage to contribute his quota of very silly remarks about Brahms, Samuel Johnson, Goethe, Knut Hamsun, Albert Schweitzer, Gandhi and Selma Lagerlof.

Hitschmann doesn't know enough about the inner life of one subject—I almost said patient—to explain why Schweitzer (still very much alive, by the way) experienced "external happiness" as "sin." So he calmly pulls an explanation out of his hat. "We *assume*," he says, "the existence of an unconscious guilt feeling which originated in early years and was revived by regression." The italics, needless to say, are mine.

When I read Knut Hamsun's *Growth of the Soil* many years ago I was duly impressed with the author's sympathetic understanding of nature. Never until I picked up Dr. Hitschmann's psychoanalysis of Hamsun did I suspect that *Growth of the Soil* was the elaboration of a mother fixation complicated by a castration complex. Hamsun describes a sloping hill as "a breast, a lap, so smooth . . . a big slope, so full of tenderness and helplessness, like a mother it allows itself to be fondled in every way." The imagery employed—"breast," "lap," "mother"—might conceivably have resulted from a mother fixation. On the other hand, it could have derived from mere accuracy of observation. After all, a gently rounded slope would hardly remind a good author of the chest of Bernarr Macfadden.

In contradistinction to Hamsun, Selma Lagerlof wrote saintly books because she disliked wicked stepmothers. A stubborn, avaricious and irascible child, Selma Lagerlof compensated in later years by writing about compassionate, charitable and kind people. It does not occur to Dr. Hitschmann that Selma Lagerlof might have had the wit to discover that compassionate, charitable and kind people actually exist and are fit subjects for the novelist's concern.

Goethe, according to Dr. Hitschmann, grew by such acts as "interweaving" his longing for his mother into a "feeling of nature." He also had to overcome the "anal instinct," and in his love for Charlotte von Stein he continued an "attachment to his sister." As for the time when the young Goethe threw the crockery out of the window, it was because his mother was busy with the christening of a newborn son.

Far be it from me to dispute the accuracy of this treatment of Goethe. But if a man can be in love with both his mother and his sister, how does the psychoanalytic biographer distinguish between the two women? Couldn't Goethe have read the sister into the world of nature? Or the mother into Charlotte von Stein? It occurs to the irreverent reader that Goethe just happened to like women, period.

Schopenhauer, in Dr. Hitschmann's estimation, hated women because he loved his mother and wanted to repress it. Berkeley, the philosopher, had an ambivalent attitude toward his feces. Brahms liked servant girls for one thing and the wives of geniuses for another, guess which. Dr. Samuel Johnson was an oral type and somewhat bisexual, possibly without knowing it. So it goes with the Hitschmann way of analysis.

The suspicious thing about all this is the facility with which the patterns from a man's books or music may be read back into the circumstances of childhood. Anything that fits goes. But what does it all really signify? If

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Hitschmann is scientific in his coupling of the mother fixation with Hamsun's and Goethe's feeling for nature, then all nature writers must live under the soft impeachment of being abnormally attached to their mothers. Thus we know exactly what to think about Wordsworth, Willa Cather, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Mary Webb, Henry Williamson, George Meredith and W. H. Hudson, all of whom were pantheists. They all had illicit longings for their mothers. (Heaven help me: I like nature, too.)

The odd thing about it is that Hitschmann really knows better. He knows that the creative process is a mystery. He knows that Brahms did not compose good music because he was a chronic bachelor but because he happened to have musical genius. He knows that there have been many atonal bachelors, also many gifted composers who happened to have wives. Genius is where you find it; and it is even theoretically possible that it might be found in sexually normal men.

A book like Hitschmann's *Great Men* inevitably poses a number of riddles. Is sexuality in everything, or is there something that is in everything, including sexuality? Are people unhappy because they are inhibited, or are they inhibited because they are unhappy? Does sex abstinence result in an increase in artistic productivity, or does an increase in artistic productivity result in sex abstinence? If Dr. Hitschmann had had any definite answers to such riddles, the psychoanalytical approach might have yielded him something worthwhile. As it is, his book proves very little beyond the obvious point that great men are great because they are great. Their sexual proclivities, which they often share with morons as well as with people who are merely average, have nothing to do with the case.

We Too Were There

The Quiet American, by Graham Greene. 249 pp. New York: The Viking Press. $3.50

A Forest of Tigers, by Robert Shaplen. 373 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.95

These novels are both concerned with a recent war, an important war, that most Americans have already swept under the rug of memory: the war in Indo-China, between the Communist-led Vietminh on the one hand and the combined forces of the French and the Vietnamese troops of Emperor Bao Dai on the other. The French and Vietnamese took a bad beating in that struggle, but so did we Americans, since we too were there, in that far-off land, of which we knew neither the language, the customs, nor the history; we were there with our millions, our weapons, our medical supplies, and our inexhaustible fund of good intentions and more or less good advice; we were there, supporting a French colonialism of which we theoretically disapproved, while at the same time we encouraged a native nationalism that was inimical to France. We were, in the words of one of Mr. Shaplen's characters, riding two tigers, and, despite all our brave declarations that we would never permit Indo-China to be "lost to the free world," we took a nasty spill.

What business had we in Indo-China, and how did we behave there? Both Mr. Greene and Mr. Shaplen have answers to these questions. Mr. Greene's answers could not be simpler. We had no business there at all, and we behaved as badly and as stupidly as possible. Indeed, Mr. Greene's whole novel may be described briefly as an elaboration of a message that has been scrawled on walls and pavements in many places throughout the world: "Yankee, Go Home!" Mr. Shaplen's answers are less simple. But he agrees with Mr. Greene that wealth and good intentions are not enough in international affairs, and he makes it clear that we could never quite decide what we were really doing, or wished to do, in Indo-China. The composite picture of American innocents abroad that emerges from Mr. Shaplen's pages, as well as from Mr. Greene's, is not one to increase our complacency. On the contrary, it should make us take a long, hard look at ourselves in our self-assumed roles of world-makers, world-saviors and world-paymasters.

The principal scene of both these novels is Saigon, with the busy Rue Catinat at the city's heart; Saigon, where the interlocking, conflicting interests of French, Americans, Vietnamese and Vietminh are tangled in a confused, exciting, largely underground pattern that is ideal raw material for tales of mystery, suspense and espionage. Mr. Greene and Mr. Shaplen make full use of their opportunity — the one with a practiced, polished, economical and almost slick professionalism, the other with careful, unhurried artifice that relies for its effects on abundant accumulations of detail. In *The Quiet American* atmosphere and a sense of place are merely indicated by rapid, sketchy strokes; the local color consists of a few deft dabs. In *A Forest of Tigers* atmosphere and a sense of place pervade the action. In Greene's novel we are hardly aware of the heat that blankets Saigon; in Shaplen's we sweat.

Mr. Greene's passionately anti-American story shuttles back and forth in time at an always-rapid, ever-increasing pace; Mr. Shaplen's dispassionate narrative moves in leisurely circles that tighten gradually around its center and its climax. Mr. Greene has written a patent parable, in which his chief characters represent national entities and forces, a meeting and a clashing of the Old World and the New in an area of traditional colonialism. Mr. Shaplen has dealt realistically with characters and incidents that are instinct with romance and melodrama. Both authors have writ-

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BEN RAY REDMAN

Too Large, Maybe?

A Larger Concept of Community, by Jefferson B. Fordham. 117 pp. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press $3.00

The process of government in these large days is no doubt more complex than ever before and, in America at least, more flexible, more distributed in its initiatives, more diffused in authority. Dean Fordham confronts this vast fluidity and complexity of modern government with the question: "What has happened to the traditional village, city, county, state, nation?" They are still with us, he replies, but warped and dislocated by modern stresses. Among them interstitial groups have grown up, namely, the metropolis or supralocal group, trans-state or regional group, the trans-national or international group. These too have become governmental units. The book reports and sometimes evaluates the diverse contrivances, the great flux of fluid experiment, in this effort to adjust governmental process to modern conditions.

Dean Fordham, who administers the University of Pennsylvania Law School, calls these new levels of government "communities" and, indeed, orients the book on this "larger concept of community." For him a community is a group of people having a common interest of some sort, a geographical relevance, and a group awareness. He assigns no limit to its size up to and including all the people on earth. He passes over, without emphasis, the critical difference between the small, organic group where people are known to one another rather fully as whole persons and the large group where people are known more as anonymous, specialized functions. And because limits in size are given no structural importance it is easy to assume that a large "community" is as good as or better than a number of small ones.

This, to be sure, is hardly fair to Dean Fordham, who repeatedly says that administrative machinery must be developed that will serve the needs of larger groups without corrupting the values and diversities of the smaller ones. His problem nevertheless is keyed to the larger and eventually all-inclusive groups. The little groups and their survival, the small, organic communities on which our human career rests, he takes for granted.

Within the framework of the supralocal, the trans-state, and the international groups, however, he discusses the instruments of political integration with realism and intelligence. The huge fact of the metropolis bulging over county and even state lines imposes many intricate problems, from health and zoning to taxation and police power. In this area as well as in trans-state problems, the *ad hoc* or special-function mechanism is given prominence, with successful examples cited from the New York Port Authority to the TVA.

Fordham bids us avoid both centralized and decentralized rigidity. The great need of American federalism, he thinks, is for new mechanisms for the interstitial integration of areas, not necessarily regional, general-function units of government, but rather "*ad hoc* governmental arrangements tailored to the function and problem area." And he recognizes that because we in America can build on a firm federal basis, our problems are different from those of Europe.

BAKER BROWNELL

Unnegligible

In Search of Heresy, by John W. Aldridge. 208 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company $4.00

As a vocabulary virtuoso John W. Aldridge is a sort of poor man's Russell Kirk. Intellectually and aesthetically poor, that is; his crowd probably has more money than Mr. Kirk's. But he is accident-prone in stumbling on phrases which, intended for others, fit him. He attributes "meretriciousness" to David Riesman, who he says has received "the accolade of misquotation by the illiterately well-read." Waiving consideration of David Riesman, meretricious is the word for this from Aldridge: "It seemed suddenly that all the old categories . . . simply ceased after the war to correspond to reality —if, indeed, there can be said to have been a reality after the war." And for this: "When we speak of manners in the novel, I take it we have in mind something more than the merely fashionable and something less than the merely fastidious." Perhaps, as *less than merely* would suggest, we have in mind nothing at all.

Then, a precious writer ought not to misquote *Hamlet*. "Hoist on his own petard" (p. 83) is pretty illiterate for the well-read. A petard is a bomb, and Shakespeare's preposition is *with*, not *on*. This is not a matter of indifference in a book which begins: "The Greek etymon of heresy is *hairesis*." Nor in this context is it negligible negligence to write: "What poet since De Quincey has lived in an opium den?" (p. 55) unless you propose to reveal that De Quincey was actually a poet.

Mr. Aldridge was rather recently a sophomore, and is not to be blamed too severely for being sophomoric, but McGraw-Hill must be blamed for publishing a volume of what purports to be serious criticism by an author who does not yet know enough to be taken seriously as a critic. (Yes, I know that he is taken seriously at Princeton, where he has lectured, and in Vermont, where he has been a professor. The situation is worse than I had thought.)

MEDFORD EVANS

Hard Going

The Truman Administration, edited by Louis W. Koenig. 394 pp. New York: N. Y. University Press. $5.50

With loving care Mr. Koenig has extracted from the papers and addresses of Harry S. Truman the passages he regards as outstanding, and he has linked them together with a commentary. It is clear, despite his disclaimers of partisanship, that Mr. Koenig admires his subject. But one can only say that this grandiose effort to present an Administration inspired by the mediocre and conceived in the image of the common man as an epoch of profound statesmanship is defeated by the very material it deploys. No commentary and no "arrangement" can do anything to conceal the lack of wisdom, of insight, of principle, which presided over these eight years of sheer aggrandizement of Presidential power and demagogic welfare-state corruption of the republic.

F.S.M.

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To the Editor

The Case for Naval Airpower

It is possible to agree with Major Alexander de Seversky's plea for more long-range airpower without endorsing every part of his supporting argument. In particular his dogmatic consigning of the Navy's super aircraft carriers to limbo simply will not wash in the light of Second World War and Korean War experience.

The Air Force doctrine holds that Navy fighting ships, including carriers (but excluding submarines), are obsolete because they can all be sunk in a matter of minutes by land-based heavy bombers. The theory has one main flaw: it has not worked out in practice. General Billy Mitchell froze this idea into the Air Force "party line" a quarter of a century ago when there was not much Naval Air. But the Navy saw him coming, and, instead of trying to beat him, joined him.

Naval Air developed two principal air weapons that, in overwater operations, have proved superior to anything the Air Force has yet come up with. These were the aircraft carrier—a maneuverable, floating air base, complete with fuel supply, ammunition, fighter planes, dive bombers and torpedo planes. And, second, the long-range seaplane for reconnaissance, anti-submarine warfare and harassment of merchant shipping.

It is the Air Force's contention that carriers are useless, or at best a "transitional weapon." The Air Force resents carriers because it claims the right to control everything that flies, from boomerangs to flying saucers, and it knows that it never can command carriers or carrier planes.

It is not widely enough known to what an extent carrier planes excelled land-based Air Force planes against Japanese shipping in the Pacific. This lack of understanding is due, at least in part, to the Air Force's superior talent at publicity and propaganda. After the Battle of Midway the Air Force made sweeping claims to the victory. The newspapers even referred to it as "the greatest naval battle ever won by the [Army] Air Force." But the truth of the matter was that Navy carrier planes sank the flower of Japan's carrier force and half a dozen other ships. Navy seaplanes scored some torpedo hits at night. But the Air Force B-17s hit little if anything, and sank nothing.

After the battle a flight of B-17s returned to its Midway base with the report that it had bombed "a Japanese battleship or heavy cruiser" which had sunk in one minute. Later, the Navy got a report from one of its submarines to the effect that it had been attacked by B-17s at the reported spot and time, and had, quite understandably, crash dived. From the air a submarine bears about the same resemblance to a battleship that a knitting needle does to an Indian club.

This illustrates one of the two principal reasons why Naval Air can do a better job in sea operations than can the Air Force: the naval aviators are first trained as sailors, and consequently know how to tell one type of ship from another, as well as to which Navy it belongs.

The second main Naval Air advantage lies in the smaller planes employed on carriers. If one insists, as the Air Force does, on covering the seven seas with land-based planes these necessarily have to be large, multi-engined types in order to have the required range. The trouble with this is that, flying at great altitudes as big planes must to keep away from anti-aircraft fire, these bombers can not, except in rare instances, hit a moving, maneuvering warship.

The Navy has learned this fact of military life and therefore carries its smaller bombers on mobile bases (carriers) to within range of the enemy, where a swarm of such planes, approaching from different altitudes and directions, can close for the kill. In addition there is the Combat Air Patrol of fighter planes that hovers constantly at high altitude above the carrier, ready to be "vectored" out by the carrier's radar system to intercept approaching planes.

And there is finally the important matter of where to find the carriers. They just don't sit around at fixed positions; they are moving all of the time, and "the seas are vast."

Major de Seversky writes that new Soviet ballistic missiles and supersonic aircraft armed with nuclear warheads mean that ". . . overseas bases and super aircraft carriers will now have to be written off as a total loss." There is nothing new about this — the Air Force wrote off carriers the day after they were invented, but it has yet to sink one.

The writer submits that, in view of the above considerations, the Major's predictions could well be taken as an argument for *more* super-carriers, which now are equipped with twin-engined jet bombers, armed with nuclear bombs, and can range 1,000 miles inland and return. They might be all we would have left after the surprise attack on our land bases that he envisions.

Lack of space prevents much comment on the seaplane. But the Navy now has an unusually promising model, the Martin P6M Seamaster, in the testing stage. It is an entertaining fact that the "battleship Air Generals" who care only for the biggest, the fastest and the farthest, have publicly spread the word that they are profoundly interested in the Seamaster for Air Force use.

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

Havre de Grace, Md.

Honors for Conservatives

In Mr. Buckley's "Ivory Tower" of June 20, he states, "George Marshall, not Douglas MacArthur, was lionized by the colleges after the war. . . ."

My cursory research indicates that both generals possess numerous honorary degrees . . . Columbia awarded degrees to both in 1947. Harvard awarded an honorary degree to General MacArthur in 1946 and to General Marshall in 1947. Princeton gave General Marshall a degree the same year, and Yale seems to have ignored them both. . . .

But I quite agree with Mr. Buckley's implication—that the Big Colleges don't like conservatives of General MacArthur's kind, and the more's the pity!

WILLIAM F. FREEHOFF, JR.

Kingsport, Tenn.

(*Continued on p. 22*)

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TO THE EDITOR

(*Continued from p. 21*)

. . . If conservatives as well as Liberals had been awarded honorary degrees and if Chambers and McCarthy had been invited to speak as well as Hiss and Lattimore, then it would be certain that the universities were concerned with freedom of inquiry. . . .

The Democratic politicians who follow the political lead of their academic allies endanger the life of the republic. More often than not the qualities which are so becoming in the groves of [the] academy become monstrous when transferred directly into the political arena. The scholar's constant open-mindness becomes the politician's vacillation on urgent matters. . . .

Pelham, N.Y. ARTHUR EGAN

The President as Strategist

. . . the editorial "Who Is Ahead?" [June 20] states: "The tendency has been to dismiss doubts about the sufficiency of the national defense by citing the military experience of the President . . ." The writer goes on to suggest that perhaps Eisenhower's experience has not properly fitted him to grasp the present strategic situation.

I would like to go much further . . . . I have discovered nothing in Eisenhower's record that demonstrates him to possess any of the talents of military genius: namely, ability to accurately assess the enemy's intentions and capabilities; ability to perceive and strike at the enemy's weakest spots . . . [or] to penetrate the enemy's attempted feints and deceptions; knowledge of the exact strengths and weaknesses of his own forces . . .; and perhaps most important, the ability to hold clearly in mind the ultimate objectives of the war. . . .

[President Eisenhower's] present conduct argues that he (and his advisers) are incompetent as strategists. Principally, I think, his failure lies in that he is apparently unable to comprehend the basic ideals of the Communists and the methods which they employ to further those ideals. He is still seeking a *modus vivendi* —peaceful coexistence, that is—in seeming ignorance of the hard fact that the Communists are at this instant making war against us. . . .

Chicago, Ill. GEORGE W. PRICE

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"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

Important Note: "E" series blanks must be postmarked on or before August 1, 1956. No entry postmarked later can be considered.

10 Prizes 10

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OR

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Contest Rules

1. Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).
2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:
   a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President
   b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President
   c) The number of first ballot votes (out of a possible 1323) for the Republican Presidential nominee
   d) The number of first ballot votes (out of a possible 1372) for the Democratic Presidential nominee
3. Beginning with the March 7 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW is publishing one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.
4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e. the "C" set, "D" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter. You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)
5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. Final entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.
6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.
8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.
9. Entries to this contest will not be accepted from states where prize contests are prohibited by state or local law.

Official Entry Blank E-3

"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

When properly filled out and submitted together with complete entry blanks E-1, E-2 and E-4, this will constitute an official entry to NATIONAL REVIEW's "Pick the Candidates!" contest, subject to the contest rules. Address your entry to "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.

I predict that the number of first ballot votes for the Presidential nominee at the 1956 Republican Convention will be:

_____

_____
My Name

_____
Address

_____
City Zone State

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

I suggest that the following might be interested in NATIONAL REVIEW:

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_____
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